

C Flowers
Pam

Political Equality Series.

Vol. I., }
No 1. }

APRIL, 1896.

{ 10c. per annum.
{ 15c. per hundred.

P769

Published by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, at 1341 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

DOMESTIC LEGISLATION.

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL.

THE opponents of Woman Suffrage often refer to legislation as if it dealt only with vast schemes of war, commerce, and finance. They talk as if no topic of less magnitude than "bi-metalism," the "gold standard," "free trade" or "protective tariff," were ever broached in assembly chambers. In truth, questions relating to finance, commerce and war engage but a fractional part of the time of our legislators, and high-sounding phrases should not be allowed to disguise the meaning, to the home, of even these subjects. What does finance mean but wages, taxes, rents, interest? What does commerce mean but the exchange of commodities, every one of which reaches the home? What is the domestic significance of war? Its ultimate meaning is women widowed, children orphaned, homes laid waste. The preponderance of legislative labor is gradually shifting from questions, a knowledge of which is supposed to be monopolized by men and decisions concerning which affect women but indirectly, to questions whose subject matter is purely domestic.

As the motive of the state passes from external conquest to internal development, woman's function in the state expands. More than one-fourth of the bills introduced in the General Assembly of Indiana at its last session pertained to topics of a purely domestic or social character. Of such bills there were over two hundred.

All Legislatures spend much time in regulating tax-rates and making laws relating to descent, guardians, marriage, divorce, wills, public schools, public libraries, public amusements, benevolent institutions, reform schools, truants, criminal children, orphans, deserted and dependent infants, insane, feeble-minded and pauper women, minors, adulterated foods, city sanitation, and public morals. Are women less directly concerned than men in any of these subjects? A continually increasing number of women hold property, and therefore have occasion to pay taxes and make wills. Half the pupils in public schools are girls and many more than half the teachers are women. Girls as numerous as boys, women more numerous than men, patronize public libraries. In larger number than men, women serve the public as entertainers. The women who are actively engaged in studying the conditions of the poor and unfortunate and in organizing systematic efforts to ameliorate these conditions are to the men thus engaged as ten to one. All legislation affecting childhood, all institutions for the crimi-

nal and poor, must interest women as directly as men. Who, if not women, are concerned in all legislation about food and sanitation? The vast amount of legislation on these subjects is a confession by the government that its final cause is the home, and it reveals the extent to which legislation lends itself to securing public conditions which will best conserve the interests of private life.

Opposition to Woman Suffrage based on domestic reasons proceeds from the notion that legislation regulates life, whereas the truth is that life determines legislation. Life, mobile and restless, moving always toward its divine source, progresses from plane to plane, and finally what the minority have long thought and practiced the majority formulate into law by the process called legislation. As a rule, legislation has only confirmed custom, not inaugurated it. Public sentiment is now in advance of our laws, particularly as to schemes of punishment, philanthropy, education, social morals and domestic relations. One need not resort to antiquity to find a period when legislation was practically restricted to levying taxes, voting subsidies for the support of aggressive wars, and enumerating the crimes which should be punishable by death. Later, it concerned itself with poor-laws, and with the building and managing of prisons and work-houses. Following these, at varying intervals, hospitals, asylums,

schools, colleges, reformatories, institutions for technical instruction, libraries, galleries, museums, and kindergartens presented themselves as subjects of legislation. Our own generation has added to these a score of subjects which are the fruit of the relatively new doctrine, "I am my brother's keeper." The sequence of this doctrine is that egoism and altruism, after centuries of reciprocal warfare, realize the absolute identity of their true selves. Hence legislation to-day grasps, as practical issues, humanitarian and domestic problems which a century ago were but dimly discerned by poets and prophets. As a further result of this aspect of legislation, the function of women in the state is becoming apparent. The lesson of centuries has not been lost upon women. They have been taught that they are the guardians of home interests. If this be true, is it not logically certain, in a state whose object is to serve and conserve the home, that the guardians of the home are proper critics, judges and directors of the state, at least in so far as the state deals with domestic questions? Women to-day are crippled in the performance of purely domestic duties by their exclusion from direct participation in legislation; crippled exactly as miners, weavers, machinists, farmers, lumbermen, and merchants of the male sex would be were these classes disfranchised.

Political Equality Series.

Vol. I. }
No. 2. }

MAY, 1896.

{ 10c. per annum.
{ 15c. per hundred.

Published by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, at 1341 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

THE LOGIC OF THE CASE.

A PLEA FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE, DELIVERED IN THE OLD REPRESENTATIVES' HALL, STATE HOUSE, BOSTON, JANUARY, 30TH, 1895, BY PROF. HELEN L. WEBSTER, OF WELLESLEY COLLEGE.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE :

I have the honor to be here as a delegate of the Lynn Woman Suffrage Club. I have come to speak in behalf of the college women of our state who want the ballot. The college woman, Mr. Chairman, you will willingly believe, is ambitious, full of high hope, and determined to enter well-equipped into the real struggle of life. She arrives in due time at that period when the earnest work of her life is to begin; she looks about her to examine the conditions which are to determine so largely what she can do, and what does she find? She finds that she is on all sides handicapped by unjust limitations of her power. The graduate of Smith or Wellesley comes to her life-work as eager and as able to fit herself for the full duties of citizenship as her Harvard brother; yet the Harvard youth from the day of his majority may gain experience through a face-to-face and shoulder-to-shoulder encounter with the great and difficult problems of city, state and nation, while

his Smith or Wellesley colleague is compelled by law to be merely a silent looker-on.

Amazed as she naturally is at so strange a state of things, in which a government of the people, for the people and by the people is at the same time a government of, for, and by a part of the people only, she seeks to make clear to herself the logic of the situation.

If only a part of the people may have a share in the government, upon what is the discrimination between those who may and those who may not govern, based?

Does education qualify for the ballot? No; because ignorant men vote, while educated women are debarred from voting.

Does mental capacity qualify for the ballot? No, it does not; because men of the smallest mental capacity, so they be not veritable idiots, are allowed to vote, while women even of preëminent mental power and ability are debarred from voting.

Is it the morally good whom the state demands as her governing force? No; because men of low lives, drunkards and thieves, so long as they escape imprisonment, vote, while the noblest of women may not.

Is the distinction drawn between the sane and the insane? No; because, while no insane persons may vote, not all the sane are allowed to; some women are sane, yet they are denied the ballot.

Is it from fear lest women already weighed down by household duties should be overburdened with cares of state? No; because the law cannot take cognizance of the peculiar circumstances of the individual.

Are women excluded from the ballot because too few of them would avail themselves of the privilege were it granted to them? No; because the name of those who want to vote is legion, and their number increases year by year; and even if there were but a solitary woman willing to go to the polls and vote, the right of all women to do so would remain the same.

Is it because too many women want the ballot? No; because the remonstrant is always with us, who assures us that not all women would vote if they could. To neglect the privilege would be no disobedience to the law. The number, then, of women who would vote is not relevant to the question.

What, then, finally, is it, that debars woman from the right and privilege which she has here for years sought with unwearying patience? Is it her sex which debars her? No, it is not that; although she has often been told that it is.

It is true that a distinction in the matter of suffrage is consistently drawn along the line of sex—all the males being on one side of the line and having the ballot; all the females on the other side of the line and deprived of the ballot; sanity, morality, natural ability and education counting as nothing in the eyes of the law.

If, then, it is only sex which counts, who has decreed that the masculine sex shall always rule? Who knows but that a government of women and by women would be better for the human race as a whole than has been that of, for, and by men?

Ordinary fairness would suggest either that men and women should rule together all the time, or else that each sex should rule separately by turns.

But in order justly to debar woman forever from the rights and privileges of suffrage, it would have to be shown either that she possessed qualities which rendered her unfit to govern, or that she lacked those qualities which are essential to good government.

An attempt to do just this has indeed been made by those who claim that woman is too emotional, and lacks the clear, cold intellect needed for dispassionate judgment; but from this source we need not fear; a more complete study of the human mind will reveal to all who take the pains to make it, that the emotions are the dynamic forces of the soul; that the motive power of mind is emotion, while intellect serves only as guide.

If, then, it can be shown that emotion is found in one sex only, and intellect in the other sex only, then by all means are both sexes needed to work together, in order that there be motive power, and that it be wisely directed.

But if intellect and emotion are found in varying ratios in individuals of both sexes, the wasteful folly of utilizing but one portion of the human race, is only too apparent.

Sex, then, furnishes no reason for discrimination in the matter of suffrage; nor in this enlightened age does anyone at heart believe that it does.

The cause of the difficulty which women are experiencing in securing to themselves this simple right of suffrage lies in the selfishness of the human being, who when he once gets power into his hands, reluctantly yields it to any other than brute force.

And this is the whole story.

Political Equality Series.

Vol. II. } No. 8. }	NEW YORK, NOV., 1897.	{ 10c. per annum. 15c. per hundred.
------------------------	-----------------------	--

Published Monthly by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, at 107 World Building, New York.

SUFFRAGE FOR WOMAN WAGE EARNERS.

IDA H. HARPER.

MEN have had a monopoly of the remunerative employments so long they have come to believe they have an inherent right to them, just as they have to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. When women, who have been looking through the bars with longing eyes at these green pastures, muster up courage to climb the fence, the men cry out, "Keep off our reservation: go back to your knitting and dish-washing." The women answer, "We must have money; our needs are pressing. There is no pay in knitting and dish-washing; let us come over and work with you." The men reply, "Keep away, and let some man furnish you with a living." In some cases, there is no man responsible for the support of these women; in others, the man who ought to care for them will not or cannot do it. Necessity presses them hard; others are dependent

upon them; they must enter the ranks of paid labor.

Women in large numbers now have become bread-winners. Here is a new element, seeking not to drive men out, but to secure a place for herself. Men are in possession; they have proved their capabilities; women are an untried factor. Employers of labor will not make experiments unless they see a possible gain in them. Obviously, there is but one way for women to get even so much as a trial, and that is to work for lower wages. On this basis, employers will give them a chance; on any other they will not take the risk. When she has secured her position, the woman knows there is always a man waiting to take it; that the fact of her being a dependent woman will not prevent his doing so; that her security lies in accepting, without protest, wages lower than a man will work for.

That this has a demoralizing effect upon wages in general cannot be denied. As women become better equipped for work, they will enter practically all fields of labor, and there will be few employments where men will not have to meet this competition. No remonstrance on their part can prevent this situation. The only thing for them to do is to face it and find a solution for the diffi-

culties it presents. Many years of careful study have confirmed the belief that there are but two ways to put a stop to this ruinous lowering of wages, which is as hard for women as for men:—first, by extending to women the right of suffrage, second, by admitting them into full membership in labor organizations.

If all the working women were brought into these unions with a fixed scale of wages and the assurance of protection and support in case they resisted an attempt to lower them, it would have a decided influence in keeping wages up to a living standard; and yet, while it undoubtedly would be to the advantage of men engaged in occupations where they have to meet the competition of women, to bring the latter under both the restriction and the protection of their unions, this would not wholly solve the problem.

The real solution will be found in conferring the franchise upon women. It is usually declared that wages are regulated by the law of supply and demand. If so, how does it happen, that, when a body of men strikes for higher wages and another body is ready to take their places at a lower rate, the latter do not get the work? It almost ruined a Presidential candidate because it was rumored that he said "a dollar a day is

enough for a working man." If he had made this statement in regard to a working woman, it would not have hurt him. Why? Because no woman could have replied with a vote. Politicians do not take up the struggle of the working man and cater to his interest through love of his cause, but through fear of his ballot. Give women this same influence and an army will fight their battles for them. Every woman who joins a trades-union will strengthen it, instead of being, as is now claimed, a dead weight around the neck of labor.

The vote is the weapon with which the working man protects himself against oppression, but it does not shield him against the cheap labor of woman. She has no protection and, without desiring to do so, she drags his wages down with her own. If he will put into her hands the same power which he possesses, she will use it for his interest as much as for her own. There is no one class of men so vitally concerned in giving a vote to women as are the wage-earners.

P769

Political Equality Series.

Vol. II. } NEW YORK, DEC., 1897. { 10c. per annum.
No. 9. } { 15c. per hundred

Published monthly by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, at 107 World Building, New York.

WILL POLITICAL EQUALITY CHANGE EXISTING CONDITIONS ?

C. H. CHAPMAN.

One argument of our opponents is that woman suffrage is useless because it will have no power to change existing conditions.

Might we not substitute the word "harmless" for "useless" in the above sentence, and answer the anti-suffragists with their own argument in the protests of the evils inherent in suffrage?

But the argument is irrelevant and without bearing on the direct issue. Suffragists do not demand the franchise because it will change existing conditions, although they thoroughly believe that the admission of a body of thinking and intelligent citizens (equal to the full present number of voters) to a voice in the government can result only in public benefit. They demand the franchise as their right, as their clear and inalienable right, in virtue of that corner-

stone of our constitution, the right of the citizens to a voice in the public control.

But, taking the argument for what it is,—a forecast disproved by the results where the experiment has been tried,—it may be pointed out how woman suffrage would be a benefit to the community. The argument of the anti-suffragists is that, as women are divided in the same proportion as men on the political issues of the day, the results of the ballot would be unchanged in effect, and the only difference would be felt in the expense of providing voting facilities for the increased number of voters. This forecast does not agree with logic or practice. It is impossible to predicate what will be the exact result of admitting to the franchise voters equal in number to the present voting strength, but it is hard to evade the conclusion that some change must ensue. What that change will be is indicated by the nature of woman's tastes and pursuits. From time immemorial woman has been essentially domestic. On her has devolved the care of the home and family. While she is no longer forbidden by custom from entering man's field of labor, she still remains on the whole in the home and takes on herself the care of the house and children, leaving to man the direct struggle for support. This

being so, woman's interest would naturally turn more to the domestic and more intimately personal political issues than does man's. While man directs his energies to the solution of Protection, Free Silver, and the like great problems, woman, although not blind to the importance of the national issues, would probably show more interest in clean streets, good schools, sanitary measures, control of the liquor stores, efficient police, and similar municipal questions. It is in these minor, but none the less important, issues that the influence of woman would be most felt. Men, heedless and ignorant as a rule of the care and labor of making a comfortable home, are likewise too often careless and wilfully blind to the necessity of an honest, efficient municipal administration. Women, by reason of their domestic position, education and training, would not be so easily deluded. They would ask for good schools for their children, pure water, clean streets, and sanitary sewage for themselves; and an efficient police for the suppression of evil doers, and they would see that they obtained these things. The politician that attempted to convince the average woman that she did not want clean streets by explaining the evils of free silver, would find that he had undertaken a

difficult and thankless task. If we want good and closely watched municipal governments, we must have the votes of those most closely concerned, the women. If we want the best schools for our children, we must place the power in the hands of the mothers as well as of the fathers. If we want our homes protected from disease caused by bad water, bad sewage, dirty streets, we must give power to those who make and care for those homes. If we want our taxes used as they should be for the economical administration of the government, and not for the fattening of the political boss, we must give the women taxpayers as well as the men a voice in the disposition of the funds to which they contribute.

Among the wrong-doers and criminals, enemies to the social state, there are women as well as men, and it is only just that women as well as men should have a voice in their reclamation and punishment. The law that man makes binds woman as well as man, but woman makes no law and suffers under all.

P769

Political Equality Series.

Vol. III. }
No. 3. } NEW YORK, JUNE, 1898. { 10c. per annum.
 } { 15c. per hundred.

Published Monthly by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, at 107 World Building, New York.

How Kansas Women Use the Ballot.

LAURA M. JOHNS.

On the 4th and 5th of April, the women of the cities of Kansas exercised municipal suffrage for the twelfth time. The measure has passed far beyond the experimental stage and settled down into a matter of course. Few remarks now are heard about the vote of the women. When the vote in any given city election is mentioned as small or full, the whole vote—the vote of men and women together—is referred to. No more effort is made to get out the female than the male vote—not as much; yet the voting of women becomes more general as the years go on. In several cities, the vote of women has been known to exceed that of men, and, though it is true that moral issues are most powerful in bringing out the fullest vote of women, we have many instances wherein the question at issue was one concerning material interests, such as street

improvements, lighting, sanitation, and yet it has brought more women than men to the polls.

Still the press will often, to the delight of remonstrants, hold up to public gaze a Kansas city election in which few or no women voted; and we truly do have such occasions, but, when the whole story is told, it often appears that in those elections there was but one ticket in the field, or that, of two tickets, both were equally acceptable. Now, our women do not vote for the sake of voting. They want to go to the polls only when, by so doing, they can bring something to pass, so, on such occasions as above described, they do not generally go out to vote.

Years ago we used so strongly to suspect something sinister in the one-ticket election that women kept their bonnets handy and themselves in readiness to sally forth to the polls in defense of the one ticket when it was a good one, if their trusty husbands and other good men-folks discovered that a second ticket was "sprung" on them, as was sometimes done even late in the day. Then the "sunbonnet telegraph" came into requisition; family conveyances filled with women appeared on the street, and suddenly flocks of women were seen fluttering into the polling places and going smilingly out and off home again, leaving the originators of the new ticket to gnaw their nails in disappointment and wonder "how it happened." Such things were known in the days when the Australian ballot had not appeared. The ticket "sprung" on a sur-

prised body on election day is made impossible by the new system. Thus do the obstacles in the way of the woman voter vanish at her determined approach, and systems and practices ever fit themselves better to the new constituency where women exercise the suffrage.

In those elections in which no women voted, it has, to my personal knowledge, often been the case that women themselves were the originators of the ticket. Often they had instigated such nomination, their anticipated votes giving their suggestions a force they could have gained from no other source, and their apparent inactivity lulling the opposing element into quiet. There is often to be found in our cities an element that wants to defeat any nominee of women. Under these circumstances, no opposition materializing, the women could feel their aim accomplished without a woman's ballot being actually cast—at least, without a visible visit to an actual polling place! What a pity our opponents cannot understand that to be able equally and effectively to affect the election of men and measures is what woman suffragists want and not simply to be on parade at the polls!

Under the Australian ballot system, the women can easily make nominations of their own, and that without going into any general caucus or convention. The objection of publicity loses its force under this system, for the women voters of the cities of Kansas may easily and strongly affect nominations, and elections too, without contact with obnoxious persons.

When we vote we enter a decent room where sit dignified judges and clerks, generally chosen from among our best citizens. To these, the woman desiring to vote gives her name and a clerk looks it up in the Registration book. When he announces it, her title to vote is clear and she is given the ballot. With this she retires to one of the dozen or so little white canvas booths ranged round the walls, and there, alone with her ballot, her opinion, her conscience, uncontaminated by contact with "bad women," bad men or any other corrupting influence, she marks her ballot, and folds it according to law, insuring an absolutely secret ballot. Then she hands the ballot to the proper official who takes it from her hand, and, with gravity becoming the importance of his office and the dignity of her act, he deposits it in the ballot box to await the counting; and the woman who has thus expressed her opinion upon men and measures for the government of her city, now moves out, and lo! the transaction is closed, a woman has voted and a revolution has not been inaugurated.

C Flow Pam
P769

Political Equality Series.

Vol. III. } NEW YORK, JULY, 1898. { 10c. per annum.
No. 4. } { 15c. per hundred.

Published Monthly by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, at 107 World Building, New York.

The Relation of Education to Suffrage.

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL.

From the close of the American Revolution we find all the distinguished American patriots and publicists expressing the conviction that a self-governing people must be an educated people. Hancock, Jay, Franklin, Morris, Paine, Quincy, Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton, Washington all urge the same argument in support of education. From that time the doctrine that universal education is an indispensable condition of self-government has been taught; and although in only a few of the States has the ballot been restricted to those possessing certain educational qualifications, still illiteracy is regarded by all classes of our people as less compatible with a republic than with any other form of government.

In no other single institution can the evolution of the conception of the idea of citizenship be so plainly traced as in the school. In the primitive school instruction was limited to reading, writing and the simplest arithmetical calculations. Not a subject has been added to the primitive curriculum that has not been first introduced and afterwards defended on the ground that it is necessary as a preparation for citizenship.

The whole system of State universities, those institutions from which the higher education of the entire West is mainly derived, is built upon the principle that not only is the Government responsible for the elementary education needed by the humblest citizen to enable him to cast an intelligent vote, but that it is also responsible for providing opportunities for the more advanced intellectual development needed by the teachers, the guides and the leaders in all departments of life.

Who are using this vast educational system, conceived by lofty statesmanship, developed under the influence of an exalted patriotism and maintained at such an enormous annual expenditure of vitality and money?

In the latest report issued by the Bureau of Education (1895-96), the Commissioner states that the grand total of students registered during the year in all grades of school and college was 16,415,137. While slightly more than half the number enrolled are of the male sex, the number of girls continuing in the school long enough to complete the course of study in the secondary schools largely exceeds the number of boys.

Assuming the number of students enrolled in all institutions to bear the same proportion to the entire population that it bore in 1895-96, in this year of 1898 not less than twenty millions of pupils and students of all ages are registered in our schools, academies, colleges and universities of the United States. The average time which girls spend in school exceeds by

nearly three years the average time which boys stay in school, while the number of girls graduating from high school courses (which include United States history and civil government) is almost double the number of boys. Thus much more than half of the money spent by the governments, local and national, in support of free schools is used in the education of girls.

By what authority does the government tax its citizens to support schools for the education of millions of women to whom, after they have received the education declared necessary to citizenship, citizenship is denied?

Is it urged that the government gets its return upon its investment in the education of women through the increased intelligence with which women rear their children, manage their homes and conduct the larger social affairs outside the boundary of their home life? I have no disposition to diminish the government's recognition of such returns, but no one has ever justified the governmental maintenance of schools, and an enforced attendance upon them, on the theory that the government has a right to compel men to be agreeable husbands, wise fathers, and that it is responsible for teaching men how to conduct their own business with discretion and judgment.

It would seem that folly could no further go—than to spend millions of dollars annually upon the education of a disfranchised class. This is to build a mighty fleet and anchor it in the interior. This is to furnish an army with weapons and forbid their use.

At the same time it is the government, political life, which stands in more need of help than any other form of life in our country, which alone rejects the aid of women. Philanthropy profits by their culture; the church is supported, not alone by their devotion, but by their intelligent and public-spirited service. Charity would languish without them. The greatest social reforms of the age are being carried forward, some of them through the efforts of women exclusively, others by the united support of women and men.

If intelligence is vital to good citizenship in a republic, it would seem that to justify the exclusion of the present generation of American women, which is bought at so high a price and at the expense of the whole people, there must be some proof that in the citizens who have acquired this intelligence there are qualities which so vitiate it as to render it unserviceable. Such proof has never yet been adduced.

At the present moment the education and the intellectual culture of American women have reached a plane where its further development is a menace unless it is to be accompanied by the direct responsibility of its problems,—a responsibility which in a republic can be felt only by those who participate in the election of public officers and in the shaping of public policies.

Political Equality Series.

Vol. III. } NEW YORK, August, 1898. { 10c. per annum.
No. 5. } { 15c. per hundred.

Published Monthly by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, at 107 World Building, New York.

When Gamblers "Pray" and Mothers Can "Demand."

KATE E. N. FELTHAM,
OF IDAHO.

Immediately after the adoption of "Equal Suffrage," the Idaho Legislature passed a stringent law against gambling. During the same session a law known as the "Fee Bill" was enacted which greatly reduced the compensation of certain public officers. These officials immediately brought suit and attacked the manner in which the "Fee Bill" had been enacted. The Supreme Court sustained them.

Those who favored gambling then claimed that the anti-gambling law was passed in the same manner as the "Fee Bill" and was therefore unconstitutional, and two of the District Courts declared the law invalid because not properly enacted.

Two test cases were taken to the Supreme Court, but have recently been dismissed for technicalities, and the real question is still unsettled.

In many places gambling is openly carried on.

The women in the little city of Caldwell, foreseeing such a situation, had secured the election of a mayor sound on moral ques-

tions, and one woman as a member of the Council. An ordinance prohibiting gambling within the city limits was duly passed and published.

Under the ordinance the vigilance of our good marshal was such that professional gamblers were reduced to sore straits. A wail went up from them, "Our living is gone." Strange as it may seem, merchants, hotel- and restaurant-keepers were heard voicing the cry that the business interests of the city were injured by the anti-gambling ordinance. Some of the lawyers insisted that the anti-gambling law was invalid, and further that the law providing for the organization of cities and villages might also be set aside. Thus was the matter surrounded by many legal terrors.

Many mothers, being anxious to have the ordinance retained and enforced, appealed to the lady who had been president of the Caldwell Equal Suffrage Club during the campaign. She secured legal advice to the effect that even though the anti-gambling law should be declared unconstitutional, the law authorizing the organization of cities and villages distinctly gave to the city council the right to *restrain, regulate, or prohibit* gambling, and there was small likelihood of that law being declared unconstitutional.

A few women met and discussed the matter. It was decided to induce several different ladies to informally talk with the councilmen about the wishes of the mothers. These talks were to take place as though the women had no preconcerted plan. A secret meeting was appointed and arrange-

ments were made to have representatives from each ward in the city.

Before this second meeting the saloon men of the city had a petition to the Mayor and council drawn up by an attorney asking that the anti-gambling ordinance be repealed. This petition was circulated among the business men of the city, and was to be presented at the next meeting of the board.

When the women met again, the president of the equal suffrage club had prepared a remonstrance, and arrangements were made to secure, if possible, the signature of every woman voter in the city.

During the next week four men openly gambled in defiance of the ordinance. They were promptly arrested, tried, convicted and fined. Two of them, refusing to pay the fine, went to jail declaring that they would have heavy damages for false imprisonment. Many efforts were made to create sympathy for the imprisoned men. The women busily circulated their remonstrance and the saloon men their petition. Having been informed that the saloon men planned to fill, with their friends, every available seat at the Council Meeting, the women were on hand in great numbers before the doors were opened and occupied the whole of the spectators' chairs before their opponents arrived. The saloon men and their friends were forced to crowd about the entrance. Just before the meeting opened the proprietor of the largest saloon in the city entered and handed a paper to the city clerk. Considerable

routine business was dispatched. At last came the looked-for petition. It was worded in due legal form, ending with the clause "and we will ever pray." Among the names signed to it were those of many of the business men. At the close of its reading our councilwoman handed to the clerk the remonstrance. In clear, incisive terms it *demand*ed that the ordinance be kept upon the statute books of the city and that its provisions be enforced. Then followed the names of most of the women of the city and a few men. One noticeable thing was that often a husband's name had appeared on the petition and his wife's name was found upon the remonstrance.

As the names of quiet women, seldom seen beyond their own door yards, were read out in that assembly, the faces of the men grew grave and it seemed as if they realized for the first time the effect of equal suffrage in the affairs of the city.

One of the councilmen, an old gentleman who had been a pronounced anti-suffragist, arose, and, referring to the last clause in the petition, repeated, "'And we will ever pray;'—when before did gamblers ever pray and our mothers demand?"

On motion of this gentleman, and without a dissenting voice, the vote upon the petition was "indefinitely postponed." A cheer went up from the women, and the saloon men and their friends passed silently from the door.

[Two years before we had equal suffrage a large number of Caldwell women petitioned the city council on a moral issue and their petition was thrown aside.]